

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 (ISO) W

----- 037215

Z 301920Z AUG 75

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM

TO SECSTATE FLASH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 10207

NODIS

HANDLE AS EXDIS

FOR ENDERS (EB) AND LEWIS (SP) FROM LORD

PLEASE PASS TO MOYNIHAN FOR HIS REVIEW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: UNGA SPEECH

FOLLOWING IS THE INTRODUCTION SECTION OF DRAFT NUMBER 10.

GLOBAL CONSENSUS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INTRODUCTION

BEGIN TEXT.

1. MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED
COLLEAGUES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

2. WE ASSEMBLE HERE THIS WEEK WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO
IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND. WE CAN LET THIS
OPPORTUNITY SLIP AWAY, OR WE CAN RESPOND TO IT WITH
VISION AND COMMON SENSE.

3. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE ITS CHOICE. THERE ARE
NO PANACEAS AVAILABLE -- ONLY CHALLENGES. BUT THE
PROPOSALS THAT I SHALL ANNOUNCE TODAY ON BEHALF OF
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MY GOVERNMENT ARE A PROGRAM OF PRACTICAL STEPS, RESPONDING

TO THE EXPRESSED CONCERNS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
WE HAVE MADE A MAJOR EFFORT TO DEVELOP AN AGENDA FOR
EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION; WE ARE PREPARED IN
TURN TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSALS OF OTHERS. BUT THE
UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO A CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT.

4. FOR SOME TIME THE TECHNICAL CAPACITY HAS EXISTED
TO PROVIDE A TOLERABLE STANDARD OF LIFE FOR THE
WORLD'S FOUR BILLION PEOPLE. BUT WE -- THE WORLD
COMMUNITY -- MUST SHAPE THE POLITICAL WILL TO DO SO.
FOR MAN STANDS NOT SIMPLY AT A PLATEAU OF TECHNICAL
ABILITY; HE STANDS AT A POINT OF MORAL CHOICE. WHEN
THE ANCIENT DREAM OF MANKIND -- A WORLD WITHOUT
POVERTY -- BECOMES A POSSIBILITY, OUR PROFOUND MORAL
CONVICTIONS MAKE IT ALSO OUR DUTY. AND THE CONVENING
OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION BEARS WITNESS THAT ECONOMIC
PROGRESS HAS BECOME A CENTRAL AND URGENT CONCERN OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

5. THE GLOBAL ORDER OF COLONIAL POWER, THAT LASTED
THROUGH CENTURIES, HAS LONG SINCE DISAPPEARED; THE COLD
WAR DIVISION OF THE WORLD INTO TWO RIGID BLOCS HAS NOW
ALSO BROKEN DOWN. WE NOW LIVE IN A WORLD OF SOME
150 NATIONS. WE LIVE IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF CONTINUING
CONFLICTS, PROLIFERATING WEAPONS, AND NEW IDEOLOGICAL
DIVISIONS AND ECONOMIC RIVALRY. THE DEVELOPING
NATIONS HAVE STATED THEIR CLAIM FOR A GREATER ROLE
IN DIPLOMACY, FOR MORE CONTROL OVER THEIR ECONOMIC
DESTINY, AND FOR A JUST SHARE IN GLOBAL PROSPERITY.
THE ECONOMICALLY ADVANCED NATIONS HAVE STATED THEIR
CLAIM FOR RELIABLE SUPPLIES OF ENERGY, RAW MATERIALS,
AND OTHER PRODUCTS, AT A FAIR PRICE; THEY SEEK STABLE
ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS AND EXPANDING WORLD TRADE, FOR
THESE ARE IMPORTANT TO THE WELL-BEING OF THEIR OWN
SOCIETIES.

6. THESE ECONOMIC ISSUES HAVE ALREADY BECOME THE
SUBJECT OF MOUNTING CONFRONTATIONS -- EMBARGOES,
CARTELS, SEIZURES, COUNTERMEASURES, AND BITTER RHETORIC.
OVER THE REMAINDER OF THIS CENTURY, SHOULD THIS TREND
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CONTINUE, THE DIVISION OF THE PLANET BETWEEN NORTH
AND SOUTH, BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, COULD BECOME AS
GRIM AS THE DARKEST DAYS OF THE COLD WAR. WE WOULD
ENTER AN AGE OF FESTERING RESENTMENT, OF INCREASED
RESORT TO ECONOMIC WARFARE, A HARDENING OF NEW BLOCS,
THE UNDERMINING OF COOPERATION, THE EROSION OF
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS -- AND FAILED DEVELOPMENT.

7. CAN WE RECONCILE OUR COMPETING GOALS? CAN WE BUILD A NEW WORLD ORDER, BY CONSCIOUS PURPOSE, OUT OF THE EQUALITY AND COOPERATION OF STATES? CAN WE TURN THE ENERGIES OF ALL NATIONS TO THE TASKS OF HUMAN PROGRESS? THESE ARE THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME.

8. WE PROFOUNDLY BELIEVE THAT NEITHER THE POOR NOR THE RICH NATIONS CAN ACHIEVE THEIR PURPOSES IN ISOLATION. NEITHER CAN EXTORT THEM FROM THE OTHER -- THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES LEAST OF ALL. FOR THEY WOULD PAY THE GREATER COST OF A DIVISION OF THE PLANET, WHICH WOULD CUT THEM OFF NEEDLESSLY FROM SOURCES OF CAPITAL AND MARKETS ESSENTIAL TO THEIR OWN PROGRESS.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 SECTO 10207

NODIS

HANDLE AS EXDIS

FOR ENDERS (EB) AND LEWIS (SP) FROM LORD

PLEASE PASS TO MOYNIHAN FOR HIS REVIEW

9. NOR ARE WE CONVINCED BY THE FASHIONABLE DOCTRINE

THAT IF OTHERS GROW WORSE OFF, WE WILL BE WORSE OFF.

THE WORLD MIGHT BE A BETTER PLACE IF THIS WERE SO,

AND IF EVERYONE KNEW IT TO BE SO. BUT IT IS NOT

NECESSARILY THE CASE. BUT THERE IS AN OPPOSITE
PROPOSITION, WHICH WE BELIEVE IS TRUE: WE KNOW THAT
IF OTHERS GROW BETTER OFF, WE WILL GROWN BETTER OFF.
WE HAVE LEARNED THAT AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM THRIVES IF
ALL WHO TAKE PART IN IT THRIVE. THIS IS NO THEORY;
IT IS OUR OWN EXPERIENCE. AND IT IS AN EXPERIENCE
THAT WE, A PEOPLE UNIQUELY DRAWN FROM ALL THE OTHER

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PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, TRULY DESIRE AND HOPE TO SHARE
WITH OTHERS.

10. THEREFORE IT IS TIME TO GO BEYOND THE DOCTRINES
LEFT OVER FROM A PREVIOUS CENTURY THAT ARE MADE
OBSOLETE BY MODERN REALITY.

11. HISTORY HAS LEFT US THE LEGACY OF NATIONALISM --
DISCREDITED IN THIS CENTURY BY ITS BRUTAL EXCESSES
A GENERATION AGO, AND BY ITS PATENT INADEQUACY FOR THE
ECONOMIC NEEDS OF OUR TIME. THE ECONOMY IS GLOBAL.
RECESSIONS, INFLATION, TRADE RELATIONS, THE STABILITY
OF CURRENCIES, GLUTS AND SCARCITIES OF PRODUCTS AND
MATERIALS, THE GROWTH OF TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES --
THESE ARE INTERNATIONAL PHENOMENA AND CALL FOR
INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES.

12. HISTORY HAS ALSO LEFT US DISCREDITED DOCTRINES
OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM AND STRUGGLE. ONE OF THE
IRONIES OF OUR TIME IS THAT AN IDEOLOGY BASED ON

MATERIALISM, THAT PROMISED ECONOMIC JUSTICE, HAS DONE
SO POORLY IN RAISING THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF
WEALTH. AND CONTRARY TO THE IDEOLOGIES OF DESPAIR,
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN INCREASING THEIR PER
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CAPITA INCOMES AT FAR FASTER RATES THAN OBTAINED
HISTORICALLY IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IN COMPARABLE
STAGES OF THEIR GROWTH.
13. IT IS ALSO IRONIC THAT A PHILOSOPHY OF NONALIGNMENT,
DESIGNED TO ALLOW NEW NATIONS TO MAKE THEIR NATIONAL
CHOICES FREE FROM THE PRESSURE OF COMPETING BLOCS,
NOW HAS PRODUCED A BLOC OF ITS OWN -- PERHAPS THE MOST
RIGID BLOC NOW EXISTING. NATIONS WITH RADICALLY
DIFFERENT ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND WITH ENTIRELY DIFFERENT
POLITICAL CONCERNS ARE COMBINED IN A KIND OF SOLIDARITY
THAT OFTEN CLEARLY SACRIFICES PRACITICAL INTERESTS. AND
IT IS IRONIC ALSO THAT THE MOST DEVASTATING BLOW TO
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THIS DECADE CAME NOT FROM
"IMPERIALIST RAPACITY" BUT FROM AN ARBITRARY,
MONOPOLISTIC PRICE INCREASE BY THE CARTEL OF OIL
PRODUCERS.

14. THE REALITY IS THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY IS A
SINGLE GLOBAL SYSTEM OF TRADE AND MONETARY RELATIONS
ON WHICH HINGES THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL OUR ECONOMIES.
THE ADVANCED NATIONS HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE GROWTH
OF MARKETS AND PRODUCTION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD;

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WITH EQUAL CONVICTION WE STATE THAT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE A STAKE IN THE MARKETS, TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION AND CAPITAL INVESTMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES.

15. THEREFORE, THE NATIONS ASSEMBLED HERE HAVE A CHOICE: WE CAN OFFER OUR PEOPLE SLOGANS, OR WE CAN OFFER THEM SOLUTIONS. WE CAN DEAL IN RHETORIC, OR WE CAN DEAL IN REALITY. MY GOVERNMENT HAS MADE ITS CHOICE.

16. THE UNITED STATES FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME MUST UNITE US, AND NOT DIVIDE US.

17. SO LET US GET DOWN TO BUSINESS. LET US PUT ASIDE THE STERILE DEBATE OVER WHETHER A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER IS REQUIRED OR WHETHER THE OLD ECONOMIC ORDER IS ADEQUATE. LET US LOOK FORWARD AND SHAPE THE WORLD BEFORE US. CHANGE IS INHERENT IN WHAT WE DO, AND WHAT WE SEEK. BUT ONE FACT DOES NOT CHANGE: THAT WITHOUT A CONSENSUS ON THE REALITIES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DEVELOPMENT EFFORT, WE WILL ACHIEVE NOTHING.

-- THERE MUST BE CONSENSUS, FIRST AND FOREMOST,
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ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT OUR COMMON DEVELOPMENT GOALS
CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY COOPERATION, NOT BY THE
POLITICS OF CONFRONTATION.

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 SECTO 10207

NODIS

HANDLE AS EXDIS

FOR ENDERS (EB) AND LEWIS (SP) FROM LORD

PLEASE PASS TO MOYNIHAN FOR HIS REVIEW

-- THERE MUST BE CONSENSUS THAT ACKNOWLEDGES

OUR RESPECTIVE CONCERNS AND OUR MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

ALL OF US HAVE RIGHTS AND ALL OF US HAVE DUTIES.

-- THE CONSENSUS MUST EMBRACE THE BROADCAST POSSIBLE

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS. THE

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST HAVE A ROLE AND VOICE IN THE

INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY IN DECISIONS THAT

AFFECT THEM. BUT THOSE WHO ARE ASKED TO PROVIDE

RESOURCES AND EFFORT TO CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS MUST
BE GRANTED A COMMENSURATE VOICE.

18. WE HAVE LEARNED FROM EXPERIENCE THAT THE METHODS

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OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE OF THE 1950'S AND 60'S
ARE NO LONGER ADEQUATE. NOT ONLY DID THE TECHNICAL
ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF MANY PROGRAMS FALL SHORT OF
EXPECTATIONS. THE TRADITIONAL APPROACHES ARE LESS
ACCEPTABLE TO THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD BECAUSE THEY
HAVE SEEMED TO BECOME AN ENDLESS AND ONE-SIDED
FINANCIAL BURDEN. AND THEY ARE LESS ACCEPTABLE TO
THE DEVELOPING WORLD BECAUSE THEY HAVE SEEMED TO
CREATE A RELATIONSHIP OF CHARITY AND DEPENDENCY,
INCONSISTENT WITH EQUALITY AND SELF-RESPECT.

19. THEREFORE, WE MUST FIND NEW MEANS. THE UNITED
STATES OFFERS TODAY CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR INTER-
NATIONAL ACTION TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WE
BELIEVE THAT AN EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY SHOULD
CONCENTRATE ON FIVE FUNDAMENTAL AREAS:

-- FIRST WE MUST APPLY INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
TO THE PROBLEM OF ENSURING BASIC ECONOMIC SECURITY.
THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES STEPS TO SAFEGUARD
AGAINST THE ECONOMIC SHOCKS TO WHICH DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES ARE PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE: SHARP
DECLINES IN THEIR EXPORT EARNINGS FROM THE CYCLE

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OF WORLD SUPPLY AND DEMAND, FOOD SHORTAGES AND
NATURAL DISASTERS.

-- SECOND, WE MUST LAY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR ACCELERATED
GROWTH. THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES STEPS TO IMPROVE
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' ACCESS TO CAPITAL MARKETS,
TO FOCUS AND ADAPT NEW TECHNOLOGY TO SPECIFIC DEVELOP-
MENT NEEDS, AND TO REACH CONSENSUS ON THE CONDITIONS
FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

-- THIRD, WE MUST IMPROVE THE BASIC OPPORTUNITIES
OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD TRADING
SYSTEM, SO THEY CAN MAKE THEIR WAY BY EARNINGS INSTEAD
OF AID.

-- FOURTH, WE MUST IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF
TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN KEY COMMODITIES ON WHICH THE
ECONOMIES OF MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE DEPENDENT,
AND WE MUST SET AN EXAMPLE IN IMPROVING THE PRODUCTION
AND AVAILABILITY OF FOOD.

-- FIFTH, LET US ADDRESS THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF
THE POOREST COUNTRIES, WHO ARE THE MOST DEVASTATED
BY CURRENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, SHARING THE

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RESPONSIBILITY AMONG OLD AND NEWLY WEALTHY DONORS.

20. THE DETERMINATION OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS TO
MOBILIZE THEIR OWN EFFORT IS INDISPENSIBLE. WITHOUT
IT, NO OUTSIDE EFFORT WILL HAVE EFFECT. GOVERNMENT
POLICIES TO CALL FORTH SAVINGS, TO INSTITUTE LAND
REFORM, TO USE EXTERNAL AID AND CAPITAL PRODUCTIVELY,
TO MANAGE AND ALLOCATE NATIONAL RESOURCES WISELY --
FOR THESE THERE ARE NO SUBSTITUTES.

21. BUT THERE MUST BE INTERNATIONAL AS WELL AS
NATIONAL COMMITMENT. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO
DO ITS PART. THE LARGE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION HERE,
AND THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THEY AND THE EXECUTIVE
BRANCH HAVE COLLABORATED IN PREPARING THESE PROPOSALS,
ARE EVIDENCE OF MY COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT.

22. WE ASK IN RETURN A SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE
ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH CONFRONT US ALL TOGETHER.
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